

Message Text

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SUBJECT: ACADEMICIANS' VIEWS OF US-AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS

REF: A) CANBERRA 3826

B) CANBERRA A-96 OF 6/25/74

1. SUMMARY: DINNER CONVERSATION AT MY HOUSE JULY 11 PROVIDED OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS US-AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS WITH THREE KNOWLEDGEABLE AUSTRALIAN PROFESSORS, ALL OF WHOM HAD ATTENDED ADELAIDE MEETING OF AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (REFS AND B). PROFESSOR HEDLEY BULL EXPRESSED VIEW U.S. AND JOINT DEFENSE FACILITIES COULD NOT LONG SURVIVE IN AUSTRALIA, AS THEY ARE SEEN TO CONFLICT WITH DESIRE OF GOA TO CONDUCT "INDEPENDENT" FOREIGN POLICY. OTHER TWO PROFESSORS HELD VIEWS CLOSER TO U.S. , BUT ALL THREE PROFESSORS FELT ANZUS IS SOMEWHAT ANACHRONISTIC, AND CREDIBILITY OF U.S. RESPONSE TO THREATS TO AUSTRALIA IS VERY MUCH AN ISSUE HERE. END SUMMARY

2. DINNER CONVERSATION AT MY HOUSE JULY 11 WITH THREE LEADING AUSTRALIAN PROFESSORS KNOWLEDGEABLE IN US- AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS OVER AT LEAST NEXT YEAR OR TWO IS LIKELY TO BE STATUS AND CONTINUING OPERATION OF THE THREE MAJOR US-AUSTRALIAN JOINT DEFENSE FACILITIES IN AUSTRALIA.

3. TWO OF THE PROFESSORS (HEDLEY BULL, PROFESSOR OF
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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AND ROBERT O'NEILL, DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC AND DEFENSE STUDIES CENTER, ANU) HAD JUST

DELIVERED WELL PUBLICIZED PAPERS AT THE ADELAIDE MEETING OF AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (REF A) AND IT WAS AGAINST BACKGROUND OF THESE AND OTHER PAPERS AT THE CONFERENCE THAT DINNER AND SUBSEQUENT EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION TOOK PLACE. A PRINCIPAL CONTRIBUTOR TO THE DISCUSSION WAS PROFESSOR BULL WHO BOTH REFLECTS AND INFLUENCES CURRENT AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN POLICY. OTHER TWO AUSTRALIAN GUESTS (O'NEILL AND RAFE DECRESPIGNY, PROFESSOR OF CINESE AFFAIRS, ANU) SHARE VIEWPOINTS THAT ARE CLOSER TO US POSITION.

4. FOLLOWING ARE PRINCIPAL VIEWS EXPRESSED BY THE THREE AUSTRALIANS:

5. AFTER EMPHASIZING OPINION THAT US FACILITIES ARE EMERGING AS THE KEY ISSUE, BULL STATED THAT ALP WILL WISH TO REACH ACCOMMODATION ON TIMING FOR PRESUMED CLOSING OF FACILITIES THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS WITH US GOVERNMENT AND HE BELIEVS THIS CAN BE WORKED OUT AMICABLY OVER A PERIOD OF TIME. THESE FACILITIES, HE STRESSED, CANNOT BE LONG-LIVED SINCE THEY ARE SEEN AS DEROGATING AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT'S EXPRESSED DESIRE TO CONDUCT AN "INDEPENDENT" FOREIGN POLICY. BULL'S MAJOR PREMISE IS THAT AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN POLICY IS HEADED INEVITABLY TOWARD MORE INDEPENDENT STANCE, PARTICULARLY WITH RELATION TO THE US, AND THAT AUSTRALIA'S FUTURE SECURITY DEPENDS UPON BLAANCE OF POWER BETWEEN US AND USSR. HE WAFFLES ON THE QUESTION OF AUSTRALIA'S OBLIGATION TO HELP MAINTAIN THAT EQUILIBRIUM THROUGH SUPPORTING CONTINUATION OF US BASES IN AUSTRALIA. BULL BELIEVES AUSTRALIA CAN EXERCISE INCREASED INFLUENCE IN WORLD COUNCILS, BUT WAS CRITICAL OF WHITLAM GOVERNMENT FOR ITS ADDICTION TO IMAGE-BUILDING WITH THE AFRO-ASIANS AT THE EXPENSE OF MAKING MORE SUBSTANTIVE MARKS IN DIPLOMACY.

6. PROFESSOR O'NEILL, WHO IS GENERALLY CLOSE TO US POSITION ON BASES AND FOREIGN POLICY IN GENERAL,
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FRANKLY ADMITTED THAT HE FELT UNABLE PUBLICLY TO DEFEND EXISTENCE OF US FACILITIES HERE BECAUSE OF THEIR SECRECY. O'NEILL APPRECIATES THAT UNCLEARED AUSTRALIANS WHO WISH TO KNOW PURPOSES OF THESE FACILITIES ARE ASKING FOR MORE INFORMATION THAN IS PROVIDED TO AMERICAN PRESS AND PUBLIC ON THESE SUBJECTS. HE ALSO APPRECIATES THE BROADER GLOBAL PICTURE AND THE DETERENCE TO WHICH THESE FACILITIES MAKE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION.

7. THE DISCUSSION OF ANZUS IN OUR MEETING WAS SOMEWHAT PERIPHERAL TO THE DISCUSSION OF THE FACILITIES. IT WAS, HOWEVER, INDICATED BY ALL THREE PROFESSORS THAT ANZUS IN THEIR ESTIMATION WAS SOMEWHAT ANACHRONISTIC AND THAT THE CREDIBILITY OF US RESPONSE TO THREATS TO AUSTRALIA IS VERY MUCH AN ISSUE HERE. PROFESSOR DECRESPINGY BELIEVED CURRENT AUSTRALIAN LEADERS DREW THE LESSON FROM MCMAHON'S EXPERIENCE OVER PRESIDENT NIXON'S SURPRISE ANNOUNCEMENT OF JULY 1971 ABOUT HIS TRIP TO CHINA THAT THE US WAS INCLINED TO INITIATE ACTIONS FIRST AND INFORM AUSTRALIAN LEADERS AFTERWARDS. IN ANY CASE, US CREDIBILITY IN ANZUS HAD BEEN UNDER

ATTACK BY BOTH THE RADICAL LEFT AND THE RADICAL RIGHT IN AUSTRALIAN POLITICS FOR SOME TIME. THE IMPLICATION OF THESE ATTACKS IS THAT NO CURRENT AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT VIEWS THE DEFENSE FACILITIES AS BEING AN EARNES OF AUSTRALIA'S COMMITMENT UNDER ANZUS. BULL, SECONDED BY O'NEILL, POINTED OUT THAT THE CHANGES IN AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN A BROAD SENSE WERE INITIATED UNDER THE LIBERAL -COUNTRY COALITION GOVERNMENT PRIOR TO 1972 AND THAT, ASIDE FROM IMAGE-BUILDING, WHITLAM HAS NOT REALLY CHANGED THE GOALS OF AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN POLICY, ALTHOUGH, HE MAY HAVE WELL CHANGED THE MEANS FOR ACHIEVING THESE GOALS.

8. WITH REGARD TO US-AUSTRALIAN CONSULTATIONS, BULL TOOK THE VIEW THAT CLOSER USG-GOA CONSULTATIONS ARE DESIRABLE AS LONG AS THE DEFENSE FACILITIES REMAIN HERE, BUT HE WOULD NOT WISH THESE CONSULTATIONS TO
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PRE-EMPT OR WATER-DOWN THE INDEPENDENT PURSUIT OF AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE LONGER RUN.
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